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## ON THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF THE LATIN SCRIPT IN EASTERN NORWAY

It is generally accepted among students to-day, I assume, that the Latin script was borrowed in Norway in two different forms, the Anglo-Saxon or Insular form and the Carolingian minuscule. The new script was borrowed from England with the introduction of Christianity in the eleventh century, and thus represents one of the many cultural exchanges that took place in both directions between the Scandinavian North and the British West in the Middle Ages.

Students of the original documents of the oldest Icelandic and Norwegian literature have always known, of course, that many of the early Norwegian MSS employ exclusively or predominantly not the Latin *f* and *v* (*u*), but the Anglo-Saxon *f* and *ƿ*. And it had been observed that another group of MSS do not use these A. S.<sup>1</sup> letters or use them only sporadically. In these respects, then, Old Norwegian writing differentiated itself somewhat from that of the daughter colony in Iceland or that of the rest of the Scandinavian North. The investigations of M. Hægstad in 1906 resulted in a more definite formulation of specifically the facts of the distribution of the two scripts. The new light that was here thrown upon the problem showed that it was in eastern Norway that an A. S. form of writing was especially cultivated, while in western Norway they wrote in the more purely Latin style, and that in the latter respect southwestern Norway and Iceland seem to represent the same or a closely related tradition. It may be added that Hægstad inclined to include northwestern Norway with the zone "Southwestern Norway-Iceland" in the use of the Latin form of the script. These investigations were mainly orthographic, but the types *f*, *ƿ*, and *r* and the use of *ð* and *þ* are included in its scope and it is in so far, therefore, also paleographic.

But in a paleographic way there the matter rests. The attention has been directed to the study of the MSS themselves and to such questions as Norwegian-Icelandic relations, the influence of the Icelandic orthographic reform of the First Grammatical Treatise,

<sup>1</sup> Names of languages will be abbreviated in the usual way. Observe E. Nw. = East Norwegian and W. Nw. = West Norwegian, while eastern, western and southwestern will be shortened to e., w., and sw. respectively.

etc. The question of Norwegian-English relations and that of a more definite formulation of the facts of origins have not further been taken up.

It is these last problems that I should like to examine somewhat in the following pages.

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Many questions at once suggest themselves. There is the question of the date of borrowing of the Insular script; that of the position of *Frag. AM. 655, 4°* as an example of Norwegian writing of the time; the relation of East to West Norwegian writing; the reason for the absence of any distinction between *ð* and *þ* in western Norway; the character of these earliest scripts as regards purely paleographical matters; and finally that of the particular form of the English scripts that was borrowed in Norway.

It was early noted that the flat-headed A. S. *g* (see Table, I *g*) does not appear in Scandinavian MSS. Even E. Nw. writing nowhere exhibits this type, while on the other hand the Carolingian *ɣ* was in common use. It is seen at the outset, then, that the E. Nw. script was not originally pure A. S., but one in which enter Carolingian elements. Further it has been shown that W. Nw. scribes know and employ the A. S. *f* and *ɣ*; in so far, then, the script is also in western Norway a composite one. But it was observed that the use of E. Nw. features is a growing one in western Norway around the year 1200, and so the view is probably correct that at any rate to a certain extent the types *f* and *ɣ* are in western Norway loans from eastern Norway. As to whether we can postulate a W. Nw. alphabet that originally did not contain these types is problematical.

#### THE EAST NORWEGIAN DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN *ð* AND *þ*

What the reason was for the exclusive use of *þ* for the dental spirant and the absence of the *ð* in sw. Norway is not clear. It may be that the *þ* was taken from the native English script for the double function of voiced and voiceless dental spirant because it was known in that double function as a rune and the need of *ð* was not felt. That *þ* came to fill this double use in Latin writing in sw. Norway was then perhaps a runic influence upon the script. It is not unnatural that the rune *þ* should have had this influence upon the new script in sw. Norway where runic writing was so widely cultivated. However, other factors may also have operated.

The question of English practice at a particular time or in some particular literary center may have had something to do with it. For, while the principle of writing þ initially and ð medially and finally was at one time closely followed, it was later not practiced consistently and was not practiced everywhere with the same regard for the principle. The tendency to employ one or the other letter beyond the limits of the rule is clearly in evidence in many of the MSS. Thus in the Cotton MS of the *Beowulf*, date 1000, facsimile in *Paleographical Society*, II, Vol. I, plate 54, we have the writings *guþ*, *niþ*, *fiþðan*, *hyæþere*, *heaþo*, and *oðþe*. Aelfric seems generally to adhere to the rule in the *Heptateuch*, fac. in *Paleographical Society*, I, Vol. II, plates 71-72. But in his *Grammar* the preference for þ comes somewhat more to the front, thus we find on one page the forms *pyllaþ*, *spyþe*, by the side of *ægðrum* and *spyncð*, Thompson's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography*, fac. 150. Further, MS A of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, fac. 149 in Thompson's *Introduction*, date 1001, shows somewhat the same tendency.

The *Register of New Minster*, Winchester, early 11th c., follows the rule with absolute regularity. See fac. *Pal. Soc.* II, Vol. I, plate 16. The Junius MS, cf. *Cædmon*, early 11th c.,<sup>2</sup> fac. *Pal. Soc.* II, Vol. I, plate 14, only exceptionally departs from the use of ð in favor of þ. See also page of Cædmon's Paraphrase, in Skeats's *Twelve Facsimiles*. However, on a portion of a page of the *A. S. Chronicle* for 1045, *MS Cotton Tiberius*, Thompson's *Introduction*, fac. 151, we find the writings *æþeling*, *heapōlinda*, *geæþele*, *læþra*, *oþ*, *æþele*, as against three that are regular: *broðor*, *við*, and *fiððan*. An examination of larger bodies of texts would yield about the same result.

It appears, then, that as far as Wessex was concerned there was a tendency about the year 1000 to use þ also for ð but it exhibits itself only sporadically in the early part of the century, though certain scribes are somewhat more pronounced in this leaning. By the middle of the century the rule would seem to be as often disregarded as followed; ð is limited to the medial and final position but þ has encroached upon it in something like half of the positions that legitimately would fall to ð. The Insular script of Wessex if brought to Norway about 1025, with its use of the symbol for the

<sup>2</sup> Skeat, however, puts it in the 10th century (*Twelve Facsimiles*) as also Keller, who places it in the last decades of the 10th century, *Angels. Pal.* I, p. 39.

dentials, would in all likelihood have led to a fashion of writing there which would have employed the letters *ð* and *þ* according to the post-Alfredian practice in England. However, if loaned after 1050 in all likelihood *ð*, as apparently being more or less superfluous, would not have been adopted at all, except possibly by some grammarian of the discernment of the author of the First Grammatical Treatise.

Confining ourselves to the facsimiles our material for a search farther afield is less full, but perhaps sufficiently significant. Keller's *Angelsächsische Paläographie*, II,<sup>3</sup> offers facsimiles of two charters from Worcester, Add. charter, 19, 796, years 1017-1023, and 19, 769, years 1033-1038. The former exhibits nothing noteworthy; in the latter we find the writings *cyþe*, *lyðþan*, but otherwise *ð* regularly.

If we turn to the charters in, e. g., Earle's *Handbook to the Land-charters and other Saxon Documents*, Oxford, 1888, we find in Godwine's marriage contract, years 1016-1020, Earle, pp. 228-229, that *ð* is used initially regularly, and in Lyfing's Grant, 1038, Earle, p. 239, we find *ð* and *þ* both used promiscuously initially, *ð* maintaining itself elsewhere. In Ealdred's Grant of 1058, Earle, pp. 247-248, *ð* seems to be practically established initially. In MS F of the *A. S. Chronicle*, 1058, Canterbury, Earle and Plummer, pp. 177-181, we find *ð* used almost exclusively, even *ð* as abbreviation of *þæt*. Finally the facsimile from Worcester, Keller, plate X, exhibits the same tendency toward *ð* and away from *þ*, e. g.: *ðære*, *ða*, *ðarto*, *ðam*, *ðone*, *ðry*, *ðiss*, *ða*. In addition to the medial and final position *ð* appears initially 13 times as against 7 for *þ*.

Turning to the North we find in the Laud MS of the *A. S. Chronicle* a more conservative condition. A page for the year 1070, hence by the hand that appears down to the year 1121 and of the latter date, therefore, is given in Skeats's *Twelve Facsimiles*, plate III. It is significant of the conservativeness of the North that the native tradition and practice preserves the earlier purity of the script, for this hand does not exhibit a single departure from the old principle: *þ* initially, *ð* medially and finally. The following years to 1131 are recorded by another hand, a writer who no longer shows the same knowledge of the scribal tradition. He writes, e. g., *cuþe*, *reilþein*, and *ðing* and *ðone*; however, the remaining

<sup>3</sup> Referred to below by author's name only.

twenty cases are regular.<sup>4</sup> With 1132 a new hand sets in. This part was added in 1154 after the ascent to the throne of Henry II, see Plummer, I, 306, and xxxiv, and, as Keller notes, the Insular script used before has here given place to the Carolingian into which þ and ƿ are adopted (by the side of *th* and *uu*). We should not, then, here expect to find the English tradition observed with reference to ð and þ; nor do we. There is left the merest shadow of the rule, the two letters are used promiscuously in initial position, *ðet*, 7 times, by the side of *þæt*, once; but *þis*, *þa*, *þe*, *þerefter*, *þer*, *þurh*, and *þing*. On the other hand *underþeden*, *oþer*, *ƿurpen*, etc., alongside of *fuiðe*, and *ƿið* (cp. *ƿarþ*, *byrþen*). The last stage in the change is well illustrated in the B. M. Harl. chart. III, B, 49, Keller, plate xiii. There remains here only the word *ƿillað* as a survival of the former practice, elsewhere þ (20 cases), which already is being replaced by *th* (5 times).

The following two facts are here apparent: 1, the confusion in the use of the two spirants ð and þ is one phase of the incoming Norman influence upon English writing; 2, in the North the old differentiation in the function of the two types was retained down to the second quarter of the 12th century. It is an interesting fact that in Canterbury and the West Midlands, at Worcester, the promiscuous use of the two types resulted in the survival of ð by the third quarter of the 11th century. This practice exhibits itself in the most significant way in that the abbreviation of *þæt* by þ is replaced by ð, which illustrates strikingly the Norman ignorance of the native linguistic tradition. Finally in the second quarter of the 12th century, ð establishes itself for þ and ð for *þæt* also in the North.

The differentiation of ð and þ in East Norwegian writing admits of northern English origin down to about 1125. From a southern source we could only find the required form for it in the period before the Conquest. The use of the letter ð that developed at Canterbury and in the Midlands in the second quarter of the 11th century also precludes Canterbury as the source of the A. S. script in Eastern Norway.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In the one page of text comprising the annal for 1131 (Plummer's ed. 261-62) þ is used regularly 46 times and ð, 9 times; ƿ is used for ð twice and ð initially nine times (*ða*, *ðre*, *ðe*, twice, *ðes*, three times, *ðone* and *ðing*).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. also discussion of the political situation in Norway under King Olaf Haraldsson in *Norges Historie Fremstillet for det norske Folk*, I, by Alexander Bugge, p. 379.

## THE EARLIEST EAST NORWEGIAN FRAGMENTS

These are *AM.*, 655°, 4°, IX; *AM.*, 315g, fol., and *RA.*, 1A. The first consists of three leaves, A, B, and C, written in one hand; the fragment is listed by Noreen with a group of MSS "from the end of the XIIth century and about 1200"; the editors of *Palæografisk Atlas* say c. 1200, Hægstad dates it "not much later than 1150." Of this fragment I have a complete photograph before me. The second is listed by Noreen with a group of MSS "from ca. 1200 and toward 1250"; Hægstad does not specifically date the fragment. It would seem to belong to the beginning of the century; of this fragment of three pages, large folio, I have a photograph before me. Of about the same date, possibly a little later, is the third fragment; facsimile of it appears in *Norges gamle Love*, IV, facsimile XVII.

There is a general resemblance in the script of the three; a more careful examination of them emphasizes the similarity of their technique. We note the following facts: there is first the general shortness of the stem of ð and ǿ, which is especially striking in 655, where both types commonly stand wholly within the line.<sup>6</sup> It must, however, be added that both types often rise slightly above the line, and now and then assume the tall shape, as page B r, line 4, *með*. Also the letter *d* is low but tends now and then to the taller form. In these respects 315g corresponds wholly. The latter is written in a beautiful hand and the letters are fashioned with admirable skill.<sup>7</sup> The letters ð and ǿ consistently rise only slightly above the line. Of the details I shall note only the fact that the ǿ sometimes exhibits the lower form, as also a ð after a tall stave, as *scyldi*, line 23. In this we clearly have a stage in the development of the types ð and ǿ from the low to the tall form. If the letters had been learned in the tall form the tendency to the short form under certain circumstances would be unlikely; these can only be interpreted as survivals. And we are then forced to one of two conclusions: either the script was learned with these survival features in it or, the script that was learned still had only the low *d*; see below, p. 104. The script of 655 and 315g would then represent a transitional stage in the native Norwegian script from the low-*d* to the higher *d*-form. There is every indication that the latter is the case. One need only examine the script of 315g, 1r.

<sup>6</sup> I shall hereafter refer to the three fragments respectively as 655, 315g and 1A.

<sup>7</sup> Especially page 1. Pages 2-3 exhibit the same technique but the writing is somewhat bolder and less carefully executed.

With due allowance for the fineness of this hand and therefore granting that a tendency to short staves might be an individualism of this writer, it is clear that we have here to do with a hand that belongs to a school in which short staves had been the fashion and taller letters were coming into use. Thus the *p* is regularly short above the line, sometimes barely topping the line, as *pa*, 23. It is rarely tall, as *pa*, 17. Further I shall only note that the *l*, the *b* and the *f* are short-stemmed, *k*, *b* in abbreviation, and *h* tend more to tallness. If now we turn to *Frag. RA.*, 1A, the significant things coincide with the other two, much as a first look at this fragment might impress one with the differences of the hand. The most significant difference is that this hand shows a decided tendency toward compression, and hence is undoubtedly somewhat later than 315g. The long staves, therefore, are somewhat longer above and below the line, something that is conspicuously noticeable in the stem of the *h* and in the *p*, and also shows itself in the elongation of the main staff of the *ð*. But there are plenty of evidences of the lower letters, as *dom*, line 2, the *d* in abbreviation, line 6, the letter *p* in many places, etc., etc.

It may be noted that also in another respect the three seem to represent the same tradition, namely in the open form of the types *ν* and *p*. See Table, III, *p* 4, and III, *ν*. In 655 *ν* regularly has a short stem and an open top, while the *p* exhibits both the open and the closed form, the latter, e. g., in *þessa*, 1r, the last line, though the regular type is the closed one. Similarly in 315g, 1r, *ν* is regularly open, *p*, however, only now and then as *pa*, lines 3, and 11. In *RA. I, A.*, we find everywhere an open *ν*, while the *p* is here always closed. *AM. 655* does exhibit a striking difference in that it contains the *n*-like *τ*. This type seems to occur only in one other MS in Nw. and then only once; see Wadstein, *Fornnorska Homiliebookens Ljudlära*, p. 7.<sup>8</sup> There seems, however, to be no reason on this account for assuming that the writer of this MS was English-trained, in view of the facts that have been noted above. See also below, p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> Stundom uppträder en den ags. *τ*-formen liknande typ, . . . . .  
Dyliket *τ* begagnas i det fno. fragm. *AM. 655*, IX, såsom jag vid granskning af denna hds. observerat.



## THE ABBREVIATIONS IN THE EAST NORWEGIAN FRAGMENTS

I shall turn next to the abbreviations and the form of the nasal sign and the sign of conjunction.

The legendary fragment 655 employs abbreviations with a fair degree of frequency, although the methods are somewhat limited. The tyronean symbol for *ok* is found 39 times as compared with 60 times when the word is written out. The form of the symbol is usually that of a figure 7 in which the vertical stave curves slightly leftward at the foot, but is sometimes more prominently bent or again may be nearly straight. The upper part is a curved line with a short downward turn at the left, and becomes sometimes a double-curve. The sign stands in the line even with the tall letter, but often only slightly overlaps the short letters. The sharp lower end descends a trifle below the line. This is the sign most often found, but the symbol exhibits another forms also. Thus on page C, 1r, there are several occurrences of a form of the sign in which the two parts are slanting, the main stave downward to the left and the upper part upward to the left. The latter is topped off by a hair-stroke that runs parallel with the main line. This form occurs in line 6 from the bottom of the page, and a smaller form of it in lines 5 and 14 of B; it is found in C, 1v, in the larger shape in ll. 19, 23, and 26 and in the reduced form in lines 1, 8, and 28. See Table, III, 7, 4.

The sign used for the omitted nasal averages in frequency about twice for each line. It exhibits three forms: 1, a small curved, slightly ascending stroke with a sharp right end. This is found several times in leaves A, as in line 10, also now and then in B, as *hinum*, l. 3, and in an approximately similar form in C, l. 3, in the abbreviation *Ds* for *Davids*. The second form of the sign is a similarly small ascending stroke, but which turns up in a rather sharp curve ending in a ball, as in *pins*, B, 1v, 13, or in B, 1r, 11, *manna*. It is also found once or twice in A, but not in C. The third form is the curved and hooked nasal stroke, ending in a sharp upward turn at the left and a downward one at the right. This is the usual form in C and a frequent one in B, less often in A.

The forms of the remaining signs need not detain us; I shall only indicate the kinds. The sign  $\infty$  = *ra* occurs in *fra* five times and in *ifra*, once, distributed through A, B, and C. The *l* with a bar =

eða is found three times, all in C, 1r, and 9=us is found in C, 1v, in *Æglippus*, l. 4; *Yrtacus*, l. 5, and *Irtacus*, l. 8.

The limited number of abbreviations used is most striking in *Fragment AM. 315g*. Those occurring are the nasal stroke, the curved stroke through the *b* for the suspended *-is-* of *biscup*, and the sign 7 for *ok*. The first of these averages about one occurrence for each line; it is a short, straight mark and is most often employed over an *n* or *m* for the omitted second nasal, as *um*, *men*, *þing*, etc. The pronoun *hann* also is abbreviated only in this way, never by *h*. The sign 7 is found only three times and has the form with the cross-bar. See Table, III, 7, 5. Its main stave is prominently slanting and the bi-stave again double-curved. Aside from the abbreviations the following features are to be noted in this interesting fragment. The extensive use of *k*,—always in *ærkibiscup*, further: *luki*, *sæckiz*, *sæke*, *kæmr*, *skipi*, *sækia*, *hverke*, *fartækia*, *fkickiu*, etc., etc.; the long staves have a short cross-stroke near the top, especially the *h* but also often the *l* and the *b* and sometimes the *k*; *ct* are linked by a tall curve; the spirantal stroke of *ð* is often a double curve; the straight-staved *e* is now and then used and there are several occurrences of the tall *e*; final *m* has a long third stave; and accents are very frequent. It is also characteristic of this hand to supply the tall staves with a hair stroke to the right at the top and the cross-bar of the *t* with a similar one at the left, or often with one at either end of the cross-bar.

*Frag. RA. 1A*, likewise exhibits very few abbreviations. Aside from the sign for the conjunction, also here cross-barred, and the abbreviation for *mork*, the text is for the most part written out in full. There are, furthermore, the symbol for *eða*, the sign for *-ir* with *firir*, the rune *ψ* and the letter-abbreviation *þ* for *tveggia*.

We may summarise then: in the earliest East Norwegian fragments

1. Abbreviations are comparatively rare and mostly limited to the nasal-stroke and the sign for *ok*, the number and the variety being largest in *AM. 655, IX*. There are, however, especially in the last, certain other symbols that were not regularly used in A. S. script. See above.

2. In form the sign for the conjunction has a main stroke that tends to a prominent slant, and a bi-stave that is double-curved. It is cross-barred in *315g* and *A1*.

3. The nasal stroke shows a variety of forms straight, slanting and curved, and tends to ornamental shapes. See more fully above.

4. Carolingian elements are prominent, the whole system of abbreviations in 655 is Carolingian, not Insular. See further below.

#### ENGLISH SCRIPT IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

As indicated above the second quarter of the XIIth century would seem to be the latest date when the A. S. script could have been borrowed in eastern Norway. But the character of the borrowed script would also seem to exclude as early a date as the first half of the XIth century. The Latin script in its Carolingian form was undoubtedly used in Norway soon after the introduction of Christianity. The writing down of the laws may have been begun as early as the third decade of the XIth century.<sup>9</sup> It may be that the laws were first written in Latin, but even if they were written in the vernacular there is every likelihood that the script employed was the Carolingian form already in use and that the A. S. English script was not at first introduced for the legal texts. At any rate the Norwegian form of the A. S. script exhibits such significant differences from the English script of the first half of the XIth century as to preclude the assumption of loan at this date. I shall review briefly the characteristics of the English writing of the time from Thompson's *Introduction* and Keller's *Angelsächsische Paläographie* supplemented by the facsimiles of English MSS in the *Publications of the Paleographic Society*, Skeats's *Twelve Facsimiles* and Wülcker's *Facsimile of the Codex Vercellinensis*.

Aside from those matters which continue in the script of also the following century, and which we may here leave out of account then, the Insular script of the time exhibits a long-stemmed þ, the vertical stroke of which rises above the line about twice as far as it extends below; see Keller, facsimile VII. There is further the *e* with a straight main stave (the stave of *i*), which as much as anything differentiates the native writing of the time from the Carolingian; this form is employed almost exclusively in some MSS; see *Cod. Verc.*<sup>10</sup> or Thompson's *Introduction*, facsimiles 149-151. The letter *s* characterised by a prominent bow, below which there is an upward-slanting hair stroke, or, in place of the latter, a dot written

<sup>9</sup> 1023-24. See also *Norges Historie*, I, Bugge, p. 378.

<sup>10</sup> The Vercelli Codex is dated "aus dem Anfang des 11 Jahrhunderts" by the Wülker; Keller holds it to be as early as 960-980, *Angels. Pal.* I, 40.

at the right of and joined to the bow. Further the  $\delta$  is low, being written wholly within the line, while on the other hand the  $\eth$  is as tall as other long-staved letters and often taller. The type  $\nu$  is rather short, the bi-stave joining it low, the opening between the main stroke and the bi-stave being thus triangular. On the other hand the bi-stave of the  $\rho$  is round and joins the main stave higher, this being the feature that differentiates the two. The main stroke of the  $\text{f}$  is also short and most often blunt. The tall  $\text{f}$  begins to appear by the side of the native deep type; the  $\text{r}$  is still exclusively the Insular form with a deep and a short vertical stave. The symbol for the conjunction has a straight vertical and a straight horizontal stave. The nasal stroke is a straight horizontal stroke. In most of these things the Norwegian script differs from the English. Compare throughout Table, I and III.

In the middle of the XIth century the tall minuscule  $\text{f}$  begins to gain ascendancy over the deep  $s$  in the Insular (see Table s I), the latter becoming more and more rare. The tops of long staves are in some places now written with a hair stroke to the left, a calligraphic feature which, to judge from the facsimiles, is at first, however, characteristic of only the scriptoria of the south. See the Canterbury Grant to Thurston, 1049, Keller, fac. IX. The straight-staved  $e$  continues; it is often written high and in conformity with it the corresponding part of the  $\text{æ}$  is high with a prominent bow; see Table e I. There is evidenced also a tendency to use this type of  $e$  as a capital. The versal  $s$  enters now and then as a calligraphic variation of  $\text{f}$ . It may be added that the native type of  $g$  is still, and long after, used exclusively and the  $\text{r}$  prevailingly. See Table g, r, I.

In the second half of the century the letters assume a more angular character, something which comes out conspicuously in, e. g., the pointed top of the  $D$ , the  $O$  and the  $A$ , showing strikingly the influence of the Norman charter hand. The letter  $E$  is often strikingly narrow with hooklike bi-staves. The capital  $\text{Æ}$  may be written with an  $e$  as its second part; the  $A$  under this influence then often takes on a straddling form with a narrow top and middle and feet prominently turned out. All these features we recognise as characteristic of the Norwegian form of the A. S. script, but the un-Norwegian features noted above are also still typical of the English script. To assume that the A. S. script came to Norway in the latter half of the XIth century would necessitate the further

TABLE OF ANGLO-SAXON (I), ANGLO-NORMAN (II), AND  
EAST NORWEGIAN SCRIPT (III)

I	II	III
a a	aa	aaa
æ æ æ æ	æ æ æ	æ æ æ æ æ
e e e e e	e e e e	e e e e e
c c	c k	c c k
ð ð ð ð	ð ð ð ð	ð ð ð ð ð
ð ð ð ð ð	ð ð ð	ð ð ð ð ð ð ð ð
f f f f	f f f	f f f f f f
g g g	g g g g	g g g g
p p p p	p p p	p p p p
r r r	r r r r	r r r r r r
s s s s	s s	s s
s s s s	s s s s s	s s s s s s
ſ ſ	ſ	ſ ſ
þ þ þ þ	þ	þ þ þ
ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ	ƿ ƿ	ƿ ƿ ƿ
ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ	ƿ ƿ ƿ	ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ
7 7 7	7 7 7 7 7	7 7 7 7 7

assumption that the Norwegian school of writing adopted a part of the Insular script and rejected the rest, taking from the Carolingian minuscule types for those rejected. This is, of course, perfectly possible. However, the Norwegian script still differs from the English to such an extent and in such a way that we are forced to conclude that it is a later form of the Insular that was the source of Norwegian writing. It will be sufficient to mention the absence of the tall þ, the absence of any differentiation in the ð and the ð̊, and the limited part played in it by the straight-staved e. To be sure the absence of characteristic features is not conclusive proof against relationship, for conceivably as the Latin script was known and used already the possibility exists that a new script might have been influenced by it. But the Latin script did not have the types ð̊ and þ, for example; these were taken over from the insular, where they had a striking form which there is every likelihood to believe that the learner would have retained.

With the Norman Conquest the native hand enters upon a period of many changes. It is a process of assimilation that now begins, which at last ends in the complete disappearance of the native script. For books in Latin the Latin writing had already before established itself; Thompson's *Introduction*, 402. The insular continued in vernacular writings but under the influence of the foreign minuscule. At the Royal Chancery, however, there continued in use a form of the Insular strongly modified by the Norman hand. There is here developed, then, a new form of writing, we may call it the Anglo-Norman; many of the letters are the A. S. but the general character of the script is Carolingian. Finally there is evolved a form of writing, which is practically the official charter style into which certain insular letters have been adopted. The former retains somewhat the character of a book hand, but is less set and even; the letters are not so regular, it is less calligraphic than the Carolingian but yet exhibiting somewhat more of care in the formation of the letters with less compression than does the charter hand. Specifically are to be noted: 1, the long staves are not written so high above nor so deep below the line; 2, the deep staves are finished off by a short horizontal stroke to the right or to the left; 3, the native s gradually disappears; 4, the continental k begins to come in more and more (not, however, yet the w).

The two first of these changes tended to give the script a squarish appearance, particularly the second. See, e. g., facsimile 201 in

Thompson's *Introduction*, (*Publ. Pal. Soc.*, II, plate 73) or facsimiles X and XI in Keller, II. With reference to the þ the result was a letter whose upper part was now of the same length as the part below the line; the second change noted above tended to produce an ƿ with a very short stem, something that gave it a square appearance. The old differentiation between ð and ð̇ gradually disappears; the ð now rises slightly above the line, but even as late as 1125 tends to be written slightly lower than the ð̇; the stem of ð̇ is often quite tall. The main part of the symbol for the conjunction is now and then curved slightly to the left. It is to be added that the native *g* and *ƿ* still remain. This is the form of A. S. writing then at the beginning of the XIIth century. We may next take two facsimiles of the Peterborough Chronicle, plate III, in Skeats's *Twelve Facsimiles*, year 1121, and plate XII, Keller's, II, year 1131-35.

The further change in the native script is here well illustrated. The final bar of the deep strokes survives sporadically in the former, as in the *p* in *ſcipe*, line 10, and in *ƿ*, line 11; it is not found in the insular hand for 1131. The letters þ and ƿ nowhere exhibit the final bar even in 1121; the þ retains the short, blunt stem, however, while on the other hand ƿ has already assumed the long stem with a sharp end turned slightly to the left. Thus a clear differentiation between the two formerly rather similar letters has been evolved, forms which are certainly the sources of the corresponding letters in E. Nw. writing. Further the letter ƿ has in the hand of chron. 1121 the short-stemmed form; it has lost the bar at the base but retained the short stem. The same feature may also be seen in þ and the long stave of the *n*. On the other hand in Chr. 1131 the longer form of ƿ is found by the side of the shorter one. Both of these forms are present in early Norwegian script, but the short form is limited to *AM. 655*, IX, of the fragments in question where it predominates, while in *315g* the newer type prevails. Again the earlier differentiation between ð and ð̇ has disappeared; the stem of the former is generally of the same length as the stem of *l*; ð̇ is rarely taller. In the more purely A. S. script of 1131 we find, however, still the straight nasal-stroke and a sign of conjunction with only slightly bent main stave, but with a curved horizontal. The old *g* is used exclusively and the old Insular *s* (see Table) survives by the side of the minuscule *f*.

THE PROVENIENCE OF THE E. NW. SCRIPT AND THE DATE OF  
BORROWING

It ought not be difficult to make our deductions from the observations that have been made above. The general aspect of the Norwegian script as well as many special characteristics point to the first quarter of the twelfth century as the time when the so-called Anglo-Saxon script was introduced into Eastern Norway, and Northern England as the most likely region whence to have acquired the native English script in this form at that time. But the further conclusion also forces itself upon us, that it was a highly composite script that was thus taken over, not an Insular script, whose *g* and deep *s* was rejected, but a script which was already more Carolingian than Insular in character, one which may conveniently be designated the Anglo-Norman. This script retained the native *ƿ* and *ʀ* and in part also the old *ʀ*, but it employed the minuscule for *a*, *g*, and *s* and had assumed in the main the general character of French writing. It was the period in which the Norman charter-hand was coming to modify more and more the native hand. The Norwegian script itself bears everywhere the imprint of the transitional forms. And when to this is added the fact of the presence already in Norway of the conservative Latin script, which had been practiced there to some extent at any rate for nearly a century<sup>11</sup> perhaps, we readily perceive the reasons for the varied handwritings and the varied orthography exhibited by the Old Norwegian MSS.

Of the three E. Nw. fragments 655 is written in a style whose general cast and the contour of the letters approaches that of the set minuscule, but with charter-hand characteristics in the capitals and in the use of enlarged minuscules for capitals. In firmness of execution and solidity it reminds us of the English form of Carolingian script as it was practiced in the first decades of the 12th century; see the excellent examples, facsimiles 176 and 177 in Thompson's *Introduction*. We have seen above that the abbreviations of this fragment are those of Carolingian writing. In the graceful form of the nasal stroke as, e. g., *þinf*, B, 1v, line 13, *manna*, B, 1r, line 11, or *kononga*, B, 1r, line 24, they represent in every way the decorative shapes of the same symbol in the facsimiles referred to. It is found in both hands in the curved form

<sup>11</sup> Though very limited in its use at first.



with raised ends and in the rather squarish shape with bent or broken ends turned up as in *victorem*, Thompson, fac. 176, line 10, and *sem.*, 655, B, 1r, line 6, or *honom*, B, 1v, line 28. The Carolingian abbreviation &=*et* was in England replaced by the native symbol 7, which in vernacular writing of the 11th century retained the straight or but slightly curved lines (see above). In the *Domesday Book*, 1086, the stem is still straight but slanting downward to the left; in the Grant of Simon, 1100-1115, *Pal. Soc.*, I, Vol. III, plate 192, it has the curved shape of the 12th century, corresponding to that of our fragment 655. In writing native names in the Latin text or for native text the native types are used. Cp., e. g., in facsimile 177, Thompson's *Introduction*, Gýpeswich or Keller, X, and elsewhere, e. g., *Domesday Book*, *Pal. Soc.*, I, vol. III, facsimile 243. The type *ý* maintains in this hand a form which differs from that of the Insular script, in that the main stave is the left and the shorter right stave does not turn inward but bends out.<sup>12</sup> This is also precisely the form this type has in 655, although its lower end exhibits the usual bend to the right as in the Insular *y* of the period<sup>12</sup>. The native *ð* and *e* appear by the side of the Carolingian *d* and *e*, as in the *Domesday Book*, a composite feature which also 655 exhibits<sup>13</sup>. Further the three forms of *r* are used, see Table II, *r*, while the Insular *r* (Table I) maintains itself in vernacular writings. All four forms of *r* are employed by the writer of 655, types *r*, III, 3 and 4 being rare however. The *n*-like *r* has in 655 a shape which differs from that of the A. S. type, the first stave being shortened and bent to the left as other deep staves in this hand. It has thus assumed a more squarish form; it has lost its distinctive Insular form and become Carolingian in shape.

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GEORGE T. FLOM.

<sup>12</sup> See Table II, *y*, 2, and III, *y*, 1.

<sup>13</sup> See Table II and III, *d* and *e*.